1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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provoke an open breach; to gibe at his personal deformity would be the last blow. Baldness, for instance, is regarded as unseemly and ridiculous; but there are no Elishas and no mocking children. It is not of course to be supposed that men of the same group never bandy words, yet rudeness and abuse are always deprecated. Ordinarily the native, who is keenly enough alive to the peculiarities of his fellow, will only refer to them behind his back, and this for no other reason than to avoid doing injury to his feelings. Roughness or rudeness is said to produce in its victim that emotion, or complex of emotions, called *meh*, which we usually and somewhat inadequately translate 'shame', and it is regarded as a serious thing; so much so that if a man commits an unjustifiable affront, not only does the victim suffer, but the culprit's fellows, who feel they share his responsibility, will be positively covered with vicarious *meh*.

We may now turn to the consideration of *practical honesty*. One cannot claim that there is here any high abstract ideal. The native certainly feels no moral obligation to tell the truth in all circumstances—as who should know better than one who spends his time in questioning them? But honesty is a virtue at least in the limited and practical sense of respect for property. Petty thieving is common enough and is treated with a good deal of tolerance, though, considering the absolutely unguarded condition in which property is commonly left, the general honesty of a native village may impress one rather favourably, and would certainly bear comparison with that of a civilized community. It is probably true that as European influence first extends among a primitive people, the decrease in crimes of violence is more than countered by an increase in thieving and other crimes of stealth, and whatever the cause of this latter condition, it implies the decay of one primitive virtue. It is at any rate the common experience of Europeans that the more sophisticated natives are more inclined to steal.

Lastly, we may refer briefly to *married chastity*. Among the Orokaiva a woman is expected to be faithful, even during long absences of her husband. There is no bartering or lending of wives, and the only exception is during the cere-

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831 monial licence that follows an initiation ceremony (p. 192). The question of how far this rule of chastity is regarded or disregarded in practice does not concern us for the moment; the fact of interest is that adultery is considered an offence; so that those, particularly women, who are known to commit the offence habitually are generally despised and compared to dogs. There is, of course, no such restriction
836 upon the unmarried, though it has been observed elsewhere that young people do not give their passions an entirely free rein. As for continence in itself, I cannot find that it is
831 ever regarded as virtuous in any degree, unless it be enjoined by some ceremonial necessity.

Summary of Intra-Group Morality

577 The foregoing does not claim to be more than a frag-
183 mentary list of native virtues. However, it covers enough ground to allow us to see the general trend of Orokaiva ethics. The group, as we have seen, lives within itself a peaceful and contented life. It cherishes no distant and ambitious ideal of progress, but contents itself with two main requirements—(1) material plenty, and (2) internal concord. The individual must fit himself into this scheme, for the virtues enumerated above are essentially social. There is little, if any, idea of a self-centred righteousness. On the contrary, each virtue implies agent and reagent. Not incontinence, for instance, but adultery is condemned, because a right of possession has been infringed; not gluttony, but greed, because others must suffer by it. In fact the norms of individual conduct have been evolved to meet the needs of society, to satisfy its ideal of a somewhat passive well-being. The moral factors in this ideal are, on the positive side, Liberality, Industry, and Helpfulness; on the negative, Good Temper, Dignity, Courtesy, Practical Honesty, and Married Chastity. They might be summed up in two terms, if we allow them their widest meaning, viz. (1) co-operation and (2) self-restraint, which are the two main moral requirements that correspond with the two main social requirements of material plenty and internal concord.